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Future from the fringes: the marking of future time reference in Züritüütsch

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O. Preamble

Züritüütsch¹ is a Swiss German dialect spoken in the town of Zürich and its surroundings. Swiss German dialects generally lack a future marking device in the core of their grammars. There are, however, some phenomena in the periphery of Züritüütsch grammar that contribute to the coding of future time. Often, these phenomena are reminiscent of neighbouring dialects and languages (see Szadrowsky (1930: 114ff *et passim*) on High Allemanic dialects and Ebnetter (1973, 1978) on Rhaeto-Romance and its neighbours). Züritüütsch itself has been described by Albert Weber (Weber 1987), who is, however, often deliberately normative.

My orthography is based on the system developed by Eugen Dieth (Dieth 1986). In this system the numerous sandhi rules are not applied. Therefore, what surfaces e.g. as ['væmmər 'sæɪf] is written *wän d mer säisch...* (literally 'if you^s me tell', i.e. 'if you^s tell me...'). In most syntactic environments, many words ending in a vowel receive a 'linking' /n/ or /r/ to avoid hiatus. Here, I follow the practice of the *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* and write a superscribed *n* or *r*, e.g. *ich schriibeⁿ de brief* [ix'fʁi:bədə 'bʁiəf] 'I write the letter' and *ich schriibeⁿ en brief* [ix'fʁi:bənən 'bʁiəf] 'I write a letter'.

1. Marking of future time reference

The verbal system of Züritüütsch shows a binary tense split with an equipollent opposition between Past and Non-Past.² Besides free temporal deixis (with *dän* 'then', *moorn* 'tomorrow', *bald* 'soon' etc.) the only productive way of marking future time reference is bound to copular constructions. They will be dealt with in section 17. The cognate of High German future auxiliary *werden*, marks inference or presumption when used with infinitives:

- (1) a. *Er wüirt en Brief schriibeⁿ.* [FTRQ: 1]
he EVID:3s INDEFsM letter write
'Presumably, he writes / will write a letter.'

For writing, Standard High German, which is acquired early in school, is used throughout non-Romance Switzerland. In oral form, this variety is ubiquitous in German and sometimes present in Swiss radio and television. Due to this diglossia,

there are many loan constructions affecting Züritütsch. A particularly blended variety is found in official and pseudo-official speech, especially when it comes to political, military or economic matters. In such contexts, *wèerdeⁿ* is widely used as a future time marker:

- (2) a. *Mer wèèrded öis bémüeⁿ, d Forderigeⁿ*
 we FUT:1p we:ACC give_effort DEF:F_s demand:p
vo dèreⁿ Initiativeⁿ z erfüleⁿ.
 of DEM:DAT_sF initiative INF fulfill
 'We'll do our best to meet the demands of this initiative.'
- b. *Öiseⁿ Présidänt wüert iⁿ dèreⁿ Sach mit de^r*
 our:Ms president FUT:3s in DEM:F_sDAT issue with DEF:DAT_sF
zueständigeⁿ Amtstell Kontakt uufnèè.
 competent office contact up:take
 'Our president will contact the competent office in this issue.'

3. Intention and prediction

Intentional future can be expressed by means of *weleⁿ* 'to want':

- (3) *Ich wott en Brief schriibeⁿ.* [FTRQ: 5]
 I want:1s INDEF:Ms letter write
 'I am going to write a letter.'

This, of course, does not amount to saying that *weleⁿ* is a marker of intentional future. A *weleⁿ* clause can always refer to an unspecified time (which is naturally often placed in the future) or even to an impossible situation. A similar caveat holds for *müeseⁿ* and *sicher*, expressions that may be used to strongly assert prediction:

- (4) a. *Dän muesch stèèrbeⁿ.* [FTRQ: 11]
 then have_to:2s die
 'Then you will die.'
- b. *Er vertwachet moorn sicher spaat.* [FTRQ: 44]
 He wake_up:3s tomorrow surely late
 'He will wake up late tomorrow.'

Semantically, however, the terms contain no element of prediction. *müeseⁿ* refers to general obligation ('must, have to') and *sicher* means 'surely'.

The picture changes when it comes to phraseological expressions (idioms). Here, *weleⁿ* 'to want' marks prediction:

- (5) a. *Mer wänd dän luegeⁿ.*
 we want:1p then look
 'We shall see'

- b. *I wott der dän! (sc. äis haueⁿ)*
 I want:1s you^sDAT then one:N hit
 Used as a threat implying: 'If you^s do this, I'll hit / scold you^s.'

In these cases, a literal reading of *weleⁿ* is hard to get but certainly possible. No literal interpretation is available with the following. *wil* is an archaic form of *weleⁿ* and occurs virtually only in the phraseme (6)

- (6) *I wil em s sägeⁿ / uusrichteⁿ.*
 I want:1s he:DAT it tell deliver_a_message
 'I will tell him.'

Here, *wil* unambiguously marks intentional future time reference.

4. Degrees of certainty and scheduling

Neither degrees of certainty nor scheduling are reflected by the verbal tense system. For unintentionality, see section 17.

5. Future time reference and aspect

There is a periphrastic Progressive that is optionally used to represent situations that are perceived as imperfective, non-habitual and active. The construction is based on an infinitive introduced by *am* 'at:DEF:Ns' and syntactically incorporates objects. If objects have an article, they cannot be incorporated. Therefore, speakers have to resort to a two-nexus-construction with *draa sii* 'ANA:at BE' and an infinitive with the particle *z* (literally 'to'). With future time reference, no particular restrictions on the use of the Progressive can be observed, cf. Progressive (7a) vs. Non-Progressive (7b):

- (7) a. *Moorn biⁿ i wider am schaffenⁿ.*
 tomorrow BE:1s I again at:DEFsN work
 'Tomorrow I will be working again.'
- b. *Moorn schaff i wider.*
 tomorrow worke:1s I again
 'Tomorrow I will work again.'

In (8), Progressive and Non-Progressive can be observed in the incidence scheme:

- (8) a. *Was meinsch, was isch din Brüeder am macheⁿ*
 what think:2s what BE:3s your^s:Ms brother at:DEFsN make
wän mer aachömed?
 SUB we arrive:1p
 'What do you^s think your^s brother will be engaged in when we arrive?'

- b. *Was mensch, was macht din Brüeder wän mer aachömed?*
 what think:2s what make:3s your^s:Ms brother SUB we arrive:1p
 'How will your^s brother react when we arrive?'

In (8a) the event in the subordinate clause occurs during the main clause event. In contrast, if the Progressive is not used, the events appear contiguously sequenced. (Due to *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, the most natural interpretation of (8b) entails 'to react' as English translation of *macheⁿ*.)

8 – 9. Future time reference in linked clauses

In Züritütsch, there is no *consecutio temporum* at work, i.e. no shift from past vs. non-past to anterior vs. non-anterior. In two cases, however, clause linkage affects tense value.

The first syntactic constraint concerns purposive and precessive clauses. They are subordinated by means of *das* and *bevor*, respectively. The inherent posteriority of such clauses is expressed by the Non-Past, provided the matrix points to a Non-Past event:

- (9) a. *Ich schriib mim Brüeder en Brief, das er wäiss,*
 I write:1s my:DATsM brother INDEF:Ms letter COMP he know:3s
das ich zueⁿ em uf Bsuech chumeⁿ. [FTRQ: 95]
 COMPI to he:DAT on visit come:1s
 'I am writing a letter to my brother so that he will know that I am coming to see him.'
- b. *Er gaat is Bett bevor i häi chumeⁿ.*
 he go:3s in:DEFsN bed SUB I home come:1s
 'He goes to bed before I come home.'

With a matrix clause in the Past, however, purposives require a Non-Past (10a) whereas precessives force the use of a Past form (10b):

- (10) a. *Ich haⁿ mim Brüeder en Brief gschribeⁿ, das er wäiss,*
 I AUX:1s my:DATsM brother INDEF:Ms letter PST:write COMP he know:3s
 (**das i gwüsst ha*) *das ich zueⁿ em uf Bsuech chumeⁿ.* [FTRQ: 96]
 (COMPI PST:know AUX:1s) COMPI to he:DAT on visit come:1s
 'I wrote a letter to my brother so that he would know that I was coming to see him.'
- b. *Ich biⁿ is Bett ggange bevor min Brüeder häi*
 I AUX:1s in:DEF:Ns bed PST:go SUB my:Ms brother home
*choo isch. (*bevor min Brüeder häi chunt.)* [FTRQ: 22]
 PST:come AUX:3s SUB my:Ms brother home come:3s
 'I went to bed before my brother came home.'

The second phenomenon shows up with the general subordinator *woⁿ* that introduces adsententially subordinated and relative clauses (on this polysemy cf. Bickel (1991: 120ff *et passim*)). When adsententially used, a *woⁿ* clause forces a historical present interpretation upon Non-Past forms:

- (11) *Woⁿ er häi chunt, gseet er uf em Tisch en Brief.*
 SUB he home come:3s see:3s he on DEF:DATsM table INDEF:Ms letter
 'When he comes home, he sees a letter on the table.'

The constraint can be infringed if the *woⁿ*-clause functions as a topic in a fashion similar to English *given that* -clauses (cf. Haiman 1978: 573) (on *choo* cf. Section 17). I am not aware, however, of sentence-initial *woⁿ*-topics. (The contradiction particle *doch* is virtually obligatory and presumably serves to assure conversational relevance of the 'weather topics' in (12).)

- (12) a. *Wieso gönd er nöd veruseⁿ, woⁿ s doch soⁿ schön isch?*
 why go:2p you^P NEG outdoors SUB it PTCL so fair BE:3s
 'Why don't you^P go out, given that the weather is so fair?'
 b. *Wieso söl i jetzt eⁿ Wösch oobtueⁿ,*
 why should:1s I now INDEFsF wash put_on
woⁿ s doch bald chunt cho rägneⁿ?
 SUB it PTCL soon come:3s SP³ rain
 'Why should I do a wash, given that it will be raining soon?'

To convey a non-past meaning in an adsententially subordinate clause without implying givenness, the subordinator *wän* may be used, cf. (8) above. This device covers conditionals in general. The subordinate clause contains either an Indicative to capture a "real" condition (13) or a Conditional to encode an "unreal" one (14):

- (13) *Wän de Bueb (moorn) s Gält überchunt,*
 SUB DEF:Ms boy (tomorrow) DEFsN money receive:3s
chaufft er em Mäitli es Gschänk. [FTRQ: 13]
 buy:3s he DEFsN:DAT girl INDEFsN present
 'If the boy gets the money (tomorrow), he will buy a present for the girl.'
 (14) *Wän de Bueb (moorn) s Gält überchèem, wu''~u''~rd er*
 SUB DEFsM boy (tomorrow) DEFsN money receive:COND:3s COND:3s he
em Mäitli es Gschänk chauffeⁿ. [FTRQ: 14]
 DEFsN:DAT girl INDEFsN present buy
 'If the boy were to get the money (tomorrow), he would buy a present for the girl.'

Note that inclusion of *moorn* 'tomorrow' has no effect on tense morphology. For completeness, the following examples give the same opposition with past reference:

- (15) *Wo de Bueb s Gält überchoo hät,*
 SUB DEFsM boy DEFsN money PST:receive AUX:3s
hät er em Mäitli es Gschänk gchauft. [FTRQ: 15]
 AUX:3s he DEFsN:DAT girl INDEFsN present PST:buy
 'If the boy has received the money, he will have bought a present for the girl.'
- (16) *Wo de Bueb s Gält überchoo het,*
 SUB DEFsM boy DEFsN money PST:receive COND:3s
het er em Mäitli es Gschänk gchauft. [FTRQ: 16]
 COND:3s he DEFsN:DAT girl INDEFsN present PST:buy
 'If the boy had received the money, he would have bought a present for the girl.'

10. Future time reference and marked speech act types

Except for phraseological phenomena (cf. (5b) in section 3), no grammatical particularities were observed when the Non-Past is used in promises or threats.

13 – 14. Prospectivity and remoteness

Prospectivity and remoteness are not categories of Züritüütsch grammar. A sentence like 'it is going to rain' (FTQR: 47) will be rendered in the same way as 'it will rain' (FTQR: 49).

- (17) *S chunt cho rägneⁿ.*
 it come:3s SP rain
 'It is going to rain / it will rain.'

Imminence requires adverbial expressions in order to be made explicit, *grad* in the affirmative and *fascht* for negation:

- (18) a. *Ich schlaaff jetz dän grad ii.* [FTRQ: 85]
 I fall_asleep:1s now then immediately PREV
 'I am about to fall asleep.'
- b. *Geschter biⁿ i fascht vomen Auto*
 yesterday AUX:1s I nearly by:INDEFsN:DAT car
überfaareⁿ woodeⁿ. [FTRQ: 86]
 run_over PASS:PST
 'Yesterday, I was on the verge of being run over by a car.'

17. Inchoativity, change of state, and future in copular constructions

Copular constructions have either adjectival or nominal predicates. I shall first discuss the former.

With adjectival predicates, there are two copulas indicating change of state: *wèerdeⁿ* (literally 'to become, get'; 3s Indicative Non-Past *würt*) and *überchoo* (literally 'to get, receive'; 3s Indicative Non-Past *chunt über*). Their distribution is complementary: Where a predicate is constructed with a *sii* copula ('to be'; 3s Indicative Non-Past *isch*) to indicate a state, its change is expressed by *wèerdeⁿ*; where the copula is *haa* ('to have'; 3s Indicative Non-Past *hät*), the corresponding change of state verb is *überchoo*. (In interlinear glossing, I indicate only the temporal or aspectual value of the copula. Other surface distinctions follow from selectional restrictions or from the syntactic frame in which the copula occurs.)

- (19) a. *Es isch kalt.*
 it PRS:3s cold
 'It is cold.'
- b. *Es würt kalt.*
 it INCH:3s cold
 'It's getting cold.' (also: 'It will be cold.')
- (20) a. *Si hät kalt.*
 she PRS:3s cold
 'She is cold'
- b. *Si chunt kalt über.*
 she INCH:3s cold PREV
 'She is getting cold.' (also: 'She will be cold.')

An exception to this rule occurs with phraseological *haa*-expressions that contain a dummy object pronoun (*e*)s. Thus, if in a construction like (21a) the pronoun (*e*)s cannot be replaced by anything, there is no change of state alternative available (21b):

- (21) a. *Er hät s guet.*
 he PRS:3s it well
 'He is fine.'
- b. **Er chunt s guet über.*
 he INCH:1s it well PREV
 (*He is getting fine)

The translations of (19b) and (20b) suggest that both auxiliaries may indicate future time reference. This results from focusing on the result of the change of state rather than on the process being observed at the moment of speech. Inchoative and future reading are easily disambiguated by means of adverbial qualification:

- (22) *Es wüirt langwiilig.*
 it INCH/FUT:3s boring
 'It is getting boring / it will be boring.'
- a. *Es wüirt langsam langwiilig.*
 it INCH:3s slowly boring
 'It's (slowly) getting boring.'
 (said e.g. while watching a movie)
- b. *Hütt z aabig wüirt s langwiilig.*
 today at evening FUT:3s it boring
 'It will be boring tonight.'
 (said e.g. in view of an announced party)
- (23) *I glaub, er chunt en gèèrn über.*
 I believe:1s he INCH/FUT:3s he:ACC love(ADJ) PREV
 'I think he is getting to love him / he will love him.'
- a. *I glaub, er chunt en langsam gèèrn über.*
 I believe:1s he INCH:3s he:ACC slowly love(ADJ) PREV
 'I think he is (slowly) getting to love him.'
- b. *I glaub, er chunt en scho no emaal gèèrn über.*
 I believe:1s he FUT:3s he:ACC PTCL PTCL some_time love(ADJ) PREV
 'I think he will certainly love him some time.'

Thus, whereas *wèerdeⁿ* has no future sense with verbs, it does have such a reading with adjectival predicates.

Adjectives of judgement (*guet* 'well', *schön* 'nice', *rächt* 'right', *blööd* 'silly, wrong', *lätz* 'wrong', *schief* 'wrong, distorted') allow an alternative construction with *usechoo* (literally 'to come out of something'; 3s Indicative Non-Past *chunt use*). This construction excludes an inchoative reading and is restricted to future time reference.

- (24) *Es chunt guet useⁿ.*
 it FUT:3s well PREV
 'It will turn out well.'

Especially younger speakers tend to shorten the expression by omitting *useⁿ*.

What we have observed in the last example holds generally for nominal predicates: They are not compatible with an inchoative sense. That is, a nominal referent cannot be captured *in statu nascendi*.⁴ There are, however, specific copulas to index future reference. Three types of nominal predication are distinguished: Existence, identity, and possession (in a general relational sense).

Existential clauses have a dummy (*e*)s subject and *haa* as copula (25a). As shown in (25b), future reference is expressed by *gèè* (literally 'to give'; 3s Indicative Non-Past *git*).

- (25) a. *Uneⁿ ine hät s e Baar.*
 below inside PRS:3s it INDEFsN bar
 'Downstairs there is a bar.'
- a. *Uneⁿ ine git s e Baar.*
 below inside FUT:3s it INDEFsN bar
 'Downstairs there will be a bar.'

The same future copula is used with nominal predicates in identity constructions. Present reference is expressed by the *sii*-copula. (26a) shows present, (26b) future tense.

- (26) a. *Das isch öises Huus.*
 DEMsN PRS:3s our:Ns house
 'This is our house.'
- b. *Das git öises Huus.*
 DEMsN FUT:3s our:Ns house
 'This will be our house.'

Nominal predicates without determination take *wèerdeⁿ* instead of *gèè* as future copula (27b). In this regard, they belong with adjectival constructions. The impossibility of inchoative reading, however, suggests a particular syntactic status. Moreover, the use of *wèerdeⁿ* is synchronically at variance in so far as sentences like (27c) and (27d) are possible though archaic for some speakers.

- (27) a. *Er isch Leerer.*
 he PRS:3s teacher
 'He is a teacher.'
- b. *Er würt Leerer.*
 he FUT:3s teacher
 'He will be a teacher.'
- c. *Er git puur.*
 he FUT:3s farmer.
 'He will be a farmer'
- d. *Was wotsch emaal gèè?*
 what want:2s some_time FUT
 'What (occupation) do yo want to go into (when you grow up)?'

Possessive or 'relational' constructions take the *haa*-copula for present reference (28a) and *überchoo* 'to receive; to get' to point to a future state (28b).

- (28) a. *Ich haⁿ es Velo.*
 I PRS:1s INDEFsN bike

- 'I have got a bike.'
- b. *Ich chumeⁿ es Velo über.*
 I FUT:1s INDEFsN bike PREV
 'I will get a bike.'

In all cases from (24) to (28), the unavailability of inchoative meaning precludes inclusion of an adverb like *langsam* 'slowly' which elsewhere (cf. (22b) and (23b)) focusses on the process of a change of state. An apparent counter-example is (29).

- (29) *Das git langsam öppis.*
 DEM FUT:3s slowly something
 'It looks like something will come of it.'

Yet a closer inspection shows that in (29), *langsam* 'slowly' does not suggest a view of something coming into existence. Rather, the adverb indicates that the speaker has more and more evidence that something will exist in future time.

In one case, however, inchoativity is a possible reading. This occurs with 'possessive' constructions denoting an emotional state or a corresponding state to be:

- (30) a. *Si hät e rise Wuet.*
 she PRS:3s INDEFsF giant rage
 'She is in a rage.'
- b. *Si chunt e rise Wuet über.*
 she FUT:3s INDEFsF giant rage PREV
 'She will be in a rage.'
- c. *Si chunt langsam e Wuet über.*
 she INCH:3s slowly INDEFsF rage PREV
 'She is slowly becoming enraged.'

The inchoative and/or future copulas we have met so far are all etymologically derived from change expressions, viz. change of orientation, change of place or change of possession (in a narrow sense). Change of orientation is found with *wèèrdenⁿ* whose Proto-Germanic root **werþ-a-* goes back to Proto-Indo-European **wert-* meaning 'to turn over' (cf. Sanskrit *vārtate* 'it turns, rolls' and Old Church Slavonic *vrītěti sę* 'it turns, rolls' (Kluge, s.v. *werden*)). Change of place is presumably at the basis of *überchoo*, which seems to derive from *über* 'over' and *choo* 'come'. A similar semantic core provides the etymon for the future sign *usechoo*. This etymon, a full verb meaning 'to come out of something', is still found in modern Züritütsch. Finally, the future copula *gèè* has a change of possession etymon which is still present as a full verb denoting active 'to give'.

Yet another 'change' expression gives rise to a sign for inchoativity and future reference, viz. the change of position simplex *choo* ('to come'). It is productively used as an inchoative sign with infinitive plus *z.* By the same construction, *choo* covers also future time reference. This is similar to the ambiguity of *wèèrdenⁿ* and *überchoo* with adjectival predicates (cf. (22) and (23) above.) Incidentally, notice that the semantically

closest equivalent in idiomatic English requires adjectival constructions (E. Danziger, p.c.):

- (31) *Si chunt z schwitzeⁿ.*
 she INCH/FUT:3s INF sweat
 'She is getting sweaty / will be sweaty.'
- a. *Si chunt langsam z schwitzeⁿ.*
 she INCH:3s slowly INF sweat
 'She is slowly getting sweaty.'
- b. *Si chunt scho no z schwitzeⁿ.*
 she FUT:3s PTCL PTCL INF sweat
 'She will certainly be sweaty.'

The construction may only be applied to verbs denoting a limited range of body states: *schwitzeⁿ* ('to sweat'), *friiireⁿ* ('to feel cold'), *schnuufeⁿ* ('to breathe', in the *choo* construction in the sense of 'to breathe heavily'). With *schlottereⁿ* ('to tremble') and *stinkeⁿ* ('to stink'), the construction is attested but not unanimously accepted by informants:

- (32) a. *Me chunt z schlottereⁿ.* [Weber ³1987: 244]
 one INCH/FUT:3s INF tremble
 'One starts trembling (is getting "trembly").'
- b. *Er chunt z stinkeⁿ.* [*Id.* III, 269 with note "said of a corpse"]
 he INCH/FUT:3s INF stink
 'It is getting stinky / it will be stinky.'

In contrast, *redeⁿ* 'to talk' does easily combine with the *choo*-construction.

- (33) *...und dänn sind mer no uf s Abstimmgsresultaat z rede choo.*
 and then AUX:1p we PTCL on DEFsN ballot:result INF talk INCH:3s
 '...and then we got talking about the results of the ballots.'

In (33) there is a clear sense of unintentionality which can hardly be attributed to the lexical meaning of *redeⁿ*. (In contrast to e.g. *schwitzeⁿ* 'to sweat', *redeⁿ* does easily combine with *weleⁿ* 'to want'.) Rather, the semantic effect is due to a 'contamination' from the notional core of the verb class that the *choo*+*z* *INF* frame primordially defines, viz. 'uncontrolled body state' (cf. above). This is also the reason why an intrinsically more intentional *verbum dicendi* like *sägeⁿ* 'say' does not enter the construction.

Apart from this, *choo* does not seem to have fully grammaticalized into an inchoative or future marker. There are, however, some metonymic shifts yielding future sense. With weather expressions, for instance, *choo* is often shifted from local movement to the result of its implied temporal change of state:

- (34) *Es chunt cho rägneⁿ.*
 it come:3s SP rain
 'There is rain on the way / it will rain.'

A sentence like (34) may be used when the speaker does in fact see the rainy clouds approaching him. This local sense is then easily faded out, yielding 'it will rain'. This purely temporal meaning is the regular reading when (34) refers to another place than where the speaker is. A similar case can be observed with certain locative constructions:

- (35) a. *Si chunt i d Pubertèet.*
 she come:3s in DEFsF puberty
 'She is reaching puberty.'
- b. *Si chunt i di foift.* [VZ I, 4:30]
 she come:3s in DEFsF fifth
 'She is going into the fifth [form].'

Here, the shift to a change of state or future meaning hinges upon the semantic value of the locative noun. It has to denote a life span like *Pubertèet* 'puberty' or, by metonymy, *di foift* [sc. *klass*] 'the fifth [sc. form]' rather than a place.

19. Conclusions

In investigating future time reference in Züritüütsch, it appears to be fruitful to consider not only verbal tense systems but also to focus on copular constructions. It is in this area that Züritüütsch shows grammatical future marking devices. Except for *usechoo* and *gèè*, which are restricted to future time reference, the devices combine future with inchoative meaning. Regarding the syntactic frames in which these devices are used, nominal predicates, in contrast to adjectival ones, allow future but not inchoative copulas, except for emotional state expressions. However, further research is needed in this area. In the verbal system, the only grammaticalized future and inchoativity marker (*choo*) requires a substantivized infinitive. It has, therefore, some affinities with copular constructions. Interestingly, the *choo*+infinitive construction shows the feature of unintentionality often associated with 'to come' based future tenses in other European languages. All productive future and inchoative markers etymologically derive from change (of orientation, position or possession) expressions.

Notes

¹I would like to thank Edgar Suter (Zürich), Eve Danziger and John Haviland (both Nijmegen) for useful comments on earlier drafts. Data come from the future time reference questionnaire (noted as 'FTQR' after examples) and from video tapes (different reference labels). Examples without reference are invented but have been checked with a number informants.

²In interlinear glossing only Past ('PST') will be indicated, Non-Past gets no glossing. The same policy will be followed throughout, i.e. only morphologically marked categories are labelled.

³After certain modal and movement verbs (*müeseⁿ* 'to have to', *laa* 'to let', *tö-ö-rfeⁿ* 'to be permitted', *schickeⁿ* 'to send', *choo* 'to come', *gaa* 'to go'), the infinitive particles *go* (~ *gogeⁿ*) and *cho* (~ *chogeⁿ*) are compulsory. Except after *gaa*, where only *go* is possible, the choice between the two forms is governed by empathy: *cho* relates the event to the speaker (abbreviated 'SP' in the example), implying personal affectedness or involvement, *go* turns it away from the speaker, implying generality. I am not aware of any temporal or aspectual meaning of these particles.

⁴Unless there is evidence that no language allows such a meaning, I assume this constraint to be linguistic if perhaps with a Whorfian effect. It seems to me possible to conceptualize the mere process of e.g. a painting coming into existence without focusing on the act of painting itself (which the language would usually suggest). This is presumably due to interference from High German where a construction like *Das Haus ist im Werden* or *... ist im Entstehen (begriffen)* ('The house is coming into being' or '... is in the making') is possible. (Notice that Züritütsch, like English, has no equivalent to High German *entstehen*. *entstaa*, which is occasionally heard, is a recent loan.)

Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative	INF	Infinitive
ADJ	Adjective	M	Masculine
ANA	Anaphor	N	Neuter
AUX	Auxiliary	NEG	Negator
COMP	Complementizer	p	Plural
COND	Conditional	PASS	Passive
DAT	Dative	PREV	Preverb
DEF	Definite (article)	PRS	Present
DEM	Demonstrative	PST	Past
EVID	Evidential	PTCL	Particle
F	Feminine	s	Singular
FUT	Future	SP	Speaker oriented
Id.	Schweizerisches Idiotikon	SUB	Subordinator
INCH	Inchoative	1,2,3	Grammatical persons
INDEF	Indefinite (article)		

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